Resistance as the Creation of a 'Natural Frontier': the Language of 19th-Century Scandinavism (1839-1867)

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Aladin Larguèche
University of Toulouse II-Le Mirail

Abstract

This contribution considers the construction of a Scandinavian identity during the mid-19th century within the academic milieu of Christiania (Oslo), Copenhagen, Lund and Uppsala, in a context where National Romanticist ideas spread throughout Europe. Cultural Scandinavism, as an identity-building desire, meant firstly the promotion of a 'Nordic spirit' in the academic field, in order to break from foreign secular influences. However, it eventually fostered an organized, although small, movement of political resistance among students and intellectuals, focusing on the necessity of defending the Scandinavian southern frontier against the threat of German nationalism. Scandinavian academics did so mainly by recourse to the rhetoric of the natural and historical frontiers of Scandinavia. From a theoretical point of view, the author tests the usefulness of resistance as a concept underlining articulations between psychological patterns of resistance, language rhetoric and collective strategy, in the context where a transnational identity could be seen as an effective response to an unstable geopolitical order.

Cette étude considère le problème de la construction d'une identité scandinave dans les universités de Christiania (Oslo), Copenhague, Lund et Uppsala au cours des années 1830-1860, apogée du siècle romantique en Europe. En tant que désir identitaire, le scandinavisme se résumait essentiellement au culte du 'génie nordique' dans ces cercles académiques, afin de rompre avec des influences étrangères séculaires, notamment françaises. Toutefois, sous la pression des révolutions nationales de 1848, ce mouvement culturel se constitua en un courant de résistance politique parmi les intellectuels scandinaves. Bien que modeste, le mouvement s'appuya sur le sentiment diffus d'une identité partagée, et organisa sa politisation sur la nécessité de redéfinir et défendre la frontière méridionale danoise contre les revendications régionalistes ou nationalistes des Allemands. Les Scandinavistes opérèrent de la sorte en ayant recours à la rhétorique des „frontières naturelles et historiques" de la Scandinavie. D'un point de vue théorique, l'auteur souligne en particulier l'utilité du

concept de résistance, qui permet d'articuler motifs psychologiques, rhétoriques de langage et stratégies de mobilisation collective, dans un contexte où une identité politique transnationale fut souvent perçue par les élites intellectuelles comme une réponse appropriée à un défi géopolitique majeur.

With the rise of nationalism in 19th-century Europe, the idea of resistance became more and more clearly a rhetorical device for romanticizing fights for national and liberal aspirations throughout the continent, thereby giving a sense of legitimacy to various strategies of identity-building and frontier reconfiguration, as was the case with the Greeks in the 1820s. In this particular case, the rhetoric of resistance was used by consuls, external observers who were deeply influenced by their own representations of alterity, as well as by the interests of the country they represented. In the end these representations influenced the Great Powers to intervene in favour of Greek independence, and showed the strategic importance of such rhetoric for ensuring identity empowerment. Elsewhere, actors in national struggle dramas generally developed a language of resistance in order to draw symbolic, ethnic or territorial frontiers between their desired identity and the identities of their sometimes threatening counterparts, but not always with the same success. The Scandinavian case offers another example of romanticized resistance with a radically different denouncement, including the absence of any external supportive intervention.

Basically, Scandinavism refers to a late modern ideology intending to promote the union of the three Scandinavian countries – Denmark, Norway and Sweden. However, the modalities of this union were far from producing agreement, and this movement evolved in different directions in each of the respective Scandinavian countries. Consequently, the historiography of this movement still reflects various different national perceptions of a common, but somehow neglected history. Four different periods are usually distinguished: from the 1830s to 1848, the development of a cultural movement, particularly popular among students and academics. During the reign of the first Bernadotte, King Karl Johan of Sweden (ruled 1818-1844), students' Scandinavism became considered as a potential threat by a king who suspiciously saw the hand of a Danish plot against his rule in Norway which at that time was in a personal union with Sweden.

The Three Years War, or the First Schleswig War (1848-1851), which saw Denmark opposed to an alliance of the German states under Prussian leadership, provoked the politicization of the movement in the name of Scandinavian solidarity.

In the 1850s, Scandinavism reached an apogee and tended to become a political tool for the Swedish Kings, who intended to use it to reinforce the union with Norway and to legitimate their political rights in Denmark to the detriment of the fragile Danish dynasty.

In the 1860s, under the pressure of German unification, the relationship between Denmark and Prussia worsened because of the problem of German agitation in the Danish Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. This conflict spawned the question of the possibility of a Scandinavian intervention to defend Denmark, but Norway and Sweden did not interfere to help the Danes in Denmark's war with the German Union in 1864. This "betrayal" is usually seen as the end of the Scandinavian political dream.

Scandinavism was likely to be compared with national movements, and was often perceived as such by its protagonists. In 1914, Jacques de Coussange published a book about Scandinavian nationalism[1]. Many years later, Øystein Sørensen still depicts Scandinavism as an unsuccessful national project, which did not manage to overcome its political divergences and its lack of resonance[2]. From this point of view, a study of resistance, as an identity-based concept, could more easily refer at first to the obstacles that prevented Scandinavism from achieving its political purposes. However, this study will rather focus on the case of Scandinavism itself as an identity-based form of resistance. What were the articulations between psychological patterns of resistance, the rhetoric of language and a collective strategy? Does the concept of resistance help us to analyze the different stages of identity-making in the case of Scandinavism? Of course, the following text does not pretend to draw an exhaustive picture of the movement's complex history. It rather shows how the scope of resistance can open up strands of study about a theme which still needs to be more thoroughly explored in a comparative perspective.

The quest for identity: from Pangermanism to the cult of the 'Nordic spirit'

As were most of the nationalist movements, Scandinavism was an ideology that had its roots in a linguistic heritage, which had been explored since at least the 17th century: the Icelandic medieval literature and the Norse language. Originally undertaken for purely historical interest, these investigations tended to be progressively motivated by new ideological concerns during the 19th century. The Norse legacy was emphasized by Romantic idealism, and became the source of various nation-building projects not only in Scandinavia, but also in Great Britain and in Germany[3]. Thereby, these projects enhanced the cultural community of the Germanic world, although they were meant to build up national identities. We find obvious traces of this intellectual parentage in the works of the Danish priest and philosopher Nikolaj Fredrik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872), a leading figure in Danish cultural history of the 19th century. Himself a convinced Scandinavist, influenced by German philosophers like Herder, Fichte and Schelling, Grundtvig also had a decisive influence on Norwegian and Swedish scholars. Although he was a theologian, Grundtvig did not consider that the Lutheran faith could be a ground for Scandinavian union. On the contrary, he professed a respectful admiration for ancient Nordic paganism, in which he saw the main source of Scandi-

navian identity, as well as being a forerunner of Christianity. Calling for the cultural union of Scandinavia, the work of Grundtvig was also a genuine template for arguments against the long-lasting, obscurantist and alienating domination of French models and what Grundtvig called "Roman influences" in higher education. The Danish philosopher denounced "the unfathomable abyss of Roman culture" and the useless devotion to classical culture and languages, which had been pathetically imitated by Germanic scholars until then[4]. In his own vision, the right academic model was to be found in England, and the foundation of a Scandinavian university ought to be based on utilitarian knowledge, national languages and natural sciences, in order to create a new temple for the spiritual renaissance of the North[5]. In this context, Grundtvig wanted to encourage resistance against what he considered as pervert Latin influences, in order to reach the supposed 'true nature' of Nordic identity. In other words, both Scandinavism and Germanic unionism voiced the urge to react against the prevalence of French rationalism in intellectual life: the construction of a Nordic self had to define otherness in order to be truly successful. However, the stereotype of alterity changed during the course of the 19th century, and was differently defined in each country. For instance, the 'Slavic Barbarian' was a common stereotype among many Norwegian or Swedish scholars during the 1840s and 1850s[6].

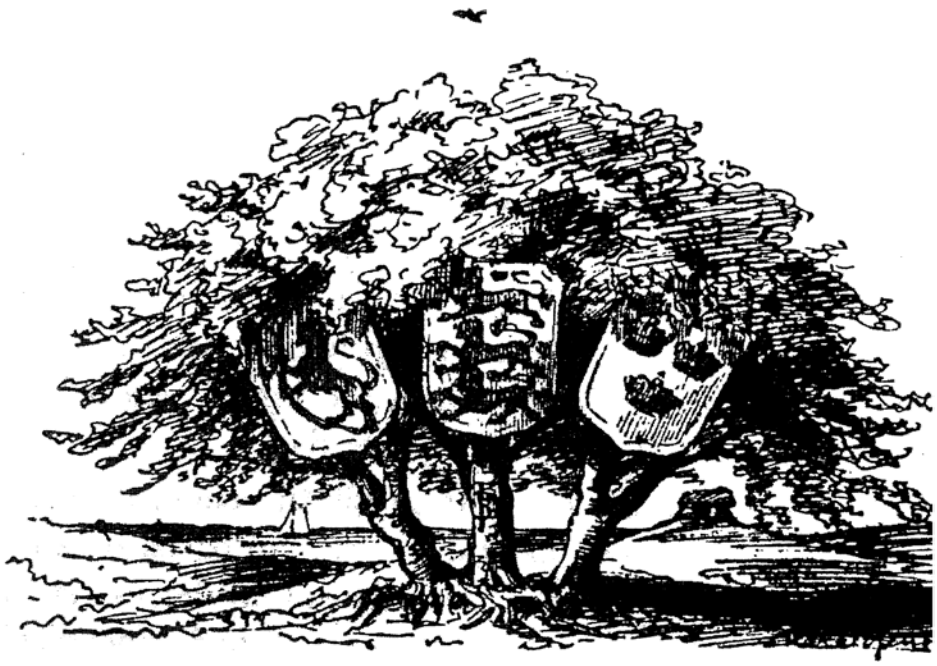

Fig.1
The Scandinavian brotherhood: common roots, three trunks, one crown. Vignette of Harald Jensen (1894), in F. Barfod, *Et livs erindringer*, Copenhagen 1938, p. 7.

Following Grundtvig, many scholars, poets and artists of the period between 1840 and 1864 became enthusiastic Scandinavists. Among them were Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910) in Norway; Adam Oehlenschläger (1779-1850) in Denmark and Esaias Tegnér (1782-1846) in Sweden. These intellectuals were influenced by Scandinavism through the academic milieu. In 1839, the first meeting of Scandinavian academics took place in Gothenburg, and was followed by many others, most of them gatherings of students and scholars from the three countries, but also from Finland and Iceland: Copenhagen in 1842, Uppsala in 1843, Christiania, Copenhagen and Lund in 1845. Scandinavist students and academics met regularly until 1875, in order to cultivate the 'Nordic genius' and translate Scandinavism from words into action. The sense of the 'Nordic genius' was also very sharp in the Romantic literature of the 1840s and the 1850s; patterns and literary themes from Old Norse mythology were frequently used to depict the greatness of the Scandinavian people and the glory of its ancient gods and kings. In 1848, the young Henrik Ibsen wrote one of his first Scandinavist poems:

Far up in the North was a gigantic oak,
Grown up in the Pagan times:
Imposing, its top reached the sky;
Its roots dug deeply the soil
And its strong branches, its bushy offshoots
Spread out from the North Cape to the Eider River[7];
Proudly its shadow covered the country of Svea
And crowned the rocky shores of the Western Sea.
But the storms of time fell on the giant
And shattered its mighty trunk;
Above the divided and depressed Nor[8]
Their violence howled like dirges;
And the rapacious eagles of the East looked greedily
Beyond the Codan Sea[9]
While the German hand grabbed
The defenceless prey, lying and dying.
But the fallen tree had enduring buds
And the spark easily became a flame...[10]

In the Poetic Edda, the representation of the tree is frequent: Yggdrasil was indeed the World Tree on which lay the nine kingdoms of the world[11]. In Ibsen's poem, the tree metaphor can therefore be seen as reminiscent of Norse mythology. The metaphor was a natural way to promote a poetic tale about the origins of the Scandinavian community: "the mythology of a nation is the intelligible mask of that enigma called national character"[12]. But it had also deeper psychological motives, if we follow the teachings of Carl Gustav Jung: mythological narratives help human beings to cope with their environment, to structure their daily experience of the world but also to survive and defend themselves[13]. For this reason, they are both psychological and social productions, a first

attempt to reach individual minds and unify them into a collective identity[14]. As stated, mythological or religious representations are obvious materials for understanding the human psyche. Priests, poets and artists had a crucial role in articulating these narratives[15]. Thus, like many identity-based ideologies from this period, Scandinavism was constructed upon an almost esoteric language: most of the Scandinavist poems were proclaimed during students' meetings and demonstrations, along with fervent speeches and toasts which all enhanced the holiness of Scandinavian brotherhood.

Ibsen's poem is a good example of this romanticist handling of psychological archetypes. Indeed, apart from the allusion to the motherly figure of Svea[16], the main archetype of this text is a self-identification archetype. At first, the tree metaphor refers to an archetype of fellowship, with a genealogical function, incarnating the blood relationship between the Scandinavians (fig. 1.) But in dreams as well as in universal symbols, the tree is also an image for the development of individuality, or the "process of becoming a whole"[17], because its growth is slow, natural although unintentional, strong and following a certain pattern[18]. Besides, the references to the "eagles of the East" (the Russians) and the "German hand" both stand for threatening alterities, as well as symbols for the violent ordeal which this process has to go through. Ibsen used the myth of death and resurrection, suggesting that resistance and violence were inescapable paths in the renewal and the emancipation of the Scandinavian self; a self which had deep roots in ancient times, and would eventually become a prophetical call for the future through resistance. As Jung wrote, "if we do not distinguish, we get beyond our own nature [...] we are given over to dissolution in the nothingness. [...] Hence the natural striving of the creature goes towards distinctiveness, fighting against primeval, perilous sameness..."[19].

The language of Scandinavism derived from a more or less conscious usage of psychological archetypes. By depicting the Scandinavist 'faith' as an instinctive and primordial truth, it used semiotic mechanisms suitable to structure a collective consciousness, to create a sense of solidarity among Scandinavians and to foster the acceptance of a Scandinavian identity.

But there is another important aspect inherent within the tree metaphor in Ibsen's poem, which was a frequent rhetorical device employed in Scandinavist literature – the will to set the geographical borders of Scandinavian identity is evident[20]. The Nordic tree stretches its roots and branches from Denmark (the Eider River in the Duchy of Schleswig was considered as the natural border of Scandinavia in the South) to the North Cape, and from the 'country of Svea' to the Norwegian Sea. As will be discussed later, the issue of the geographical frontiers of Scandinavia was an issue of great importance for Scandinavian identity. From 1848 on, this identity was increasingly built up against German nationalism and territorial claims, and this explains the progressive speciation between two romanticist movements which originally used the same mytho-

logical material. This was the paradox of an intellectual stream which was fundamentally a part of Germanic unionism in its philosophical premises[21].

Resisting German nationalism: Danish nationalism, Scandinavism and the Schleswig question

Between 1814 and 1864, Denmark was a multiethnic kingdom; it included two southern duchies with a numerous German population: Schleswig and Holstein-Lauenburg[22]. In the first part of the 19th century, a regional consciousness progressively emerged among some groups of the German-speaking elite of Schleswig-Holstein[23]. They were supported by German nationalists from other parts of the German Confederation. However, this German consciousness was contested by the Danish minority in Schleswig (the so-called Eider Danes), as well as by the centralizing Danish Monarchy, which had to consider both the interests of the whole kingdom, and carefully handle this strongly influential social and linguistic group[24]. In the aftermath of the death of Christian VIII (1839-1848) and the installation of a Danish liberal and nationalist government, constitutional conflicts soon provided the motive for the insurrection of Holstein, which aimed to ensure its inseparability from Schleswig. The First Schleswig War eventually led to intervention by the Pan-German Frankfurt Parliament, which raised deep concerns among European diplomats and in Scandinavia. The possibility of a political alliance between the Nordic kingdoms was consequently discussed more and more among Swedish and Norwegian academics and officials. Although the *status quo* in Denmark was finally confirmed in 1852 by the London Protocol, a Scandinavian defensive alliance seemed an appropriate geopolitical device for resisting various external threats[25].

As a matter of fact, the feeling of Scandinavian brotherhood was particularly strong in Denmark. Scandinavism not only sustained the nostalgia of its fallen dominion over Northern Europe but it also appeared as a vital necessity to most of the Danes, because of the inextricable issue of defining the southern frontier of the kingdom. The Danish jurist Orla Lehmann (1810-1870) was one of the leaders among nationalist academics who came into the new liberal government in Copenhagen in 1848. He had a deep influence on the formulation of the issues surrounding the southern frontier, and he was also one of the most enthusiastic and influential Scandinavists. Already in 1836, he pointed out the necessity of preventing any further Germanization of Southern Jutland (Schleswig). Hence, he called for a separation of the duchies, because Holstein was not genuinely Danish according to him[26]. In other words, Lehmann called for a total incorporation of Schleswig into the Danish Monarchy, while Holstein should be abandoned to its own fate. This program was qualified as the 'Eider River policy', because the small Eider River was the historical frontier between multi-ethnic Schleswig and German Holstein. This was more clearly stated in a speech pronounced in 1842 when Lehmann discussed the identity and the frontier of the Danish nation, and declared that "only

when we respect the frontier that nature, history and law have rightly showed to us, then we will be able to be respected in our rights inside this frontier. This frontier, my gentlemen, is the Eider River [...] Militarily, we will have a well-defended frontier and means to a sufficient inner development when we are reunited with Schleswig"[27]. The question of a separation was violently rejected by German regionalists from Schleswig-Holstein, who quite rightly argued that the inseparability of the duchies had been legally asserted in 1460, and wanted to preserve their high level of political autonomy. Nonetheless, Lehmann rejected such objections, arguing that a free and liberal constitution would necessarily lead to the dissolution of the administrative links between Schleswig and Holstein[28]. Finally, a third option was defended by the Danish conservatives, who were in charge until 1848, and who promoted a 'whole-state policy'[29]: the total integration of both provinces into the administrative and political structures of the Danish state[30].

Beyond the very complex legal issue of the duchies question, it was difficult to define a genuine linguistic line of demarcation in this region, because of the complex imbrications of German, Danish and Frisian communities, in this flat borderland. As a matter of fact, the tiny Eider had never formed a genuine linguistic frontier between Schleswig and Holstein, instead it was rather a kind of administrative and feudal border, with no ethnic significance. Thus, Danish nationalists and their Scandinavist fellows could more easily invoke a frontier designed by "nature, history, or law". Geography was solicited as an ideological instrument, which allowed the undisputable character of the Danish southern frontier to be asserted; the Eider flowed through the southern part of Jutland and was meant to separate Germans from Danes[31]. More generally, the name of 'Southern Jutland' evoked the desired ethnic continuity of the Danish Peninsula[32]. It was indeed a rhetoric device for recognizing the pre-eminence of nature against German propaganda, which always referred to the borderland as Schleswig-Holstein. History was also evoked as a valid argument to justify Danish claims to Schleswig. A few kilometres north of the Eider, the *Danevirke* was a system of fortifications built in several phases since prehistoric times; it was depicted by Lehmann to be a national symbol against Germanization[33]. Finally, "law" refers most probably to the Code of Jutland, implemented by the Danish King Waldemar II the Victorious (1170-1241); it was written in an old form of Danish, and applicable to the whole peninsula, down to the Eider, but not to Holstein, which had been (and still was in the 19th century) a distinct jurisdiction. Armed with all these rhetorical devices, the Danish nationalists could proclaim the holiness of Southern Jutland for the Danish nation[34].

Beyond the construction of a Danish national discourse, what can we say about Scandinavist statements? Did the Danish patriots manage to convince their Norwegian and Swedish friends to support their territorial vision of the Danish nation and to resist Germanization?

As we have seen, the Scandinavist meetings and students' demonstrations were the most important moments for cultivating a shared Nordic identity and extolling the greatness

of its past and present heroes; however, the question of the Scandinavian geographical frontier was not much discussed before 1848. More generally, these romanticist meetings were not overly concerned with concrete political debates; the outbursts of speeches, songs, toasts and poems were at first motivated by literary, scientific and leisurely purposes. They testified firstly to the emergence of a Scandinavian academic sociability, which did not necessarily have serious political implications. However, the apprehension about the threat of German nationalism was more palpable after the First Schleswig War. In June 1851 the steamboat which took Danish and Swedish students to Christiania to attend the first meeting after the war was named *Slesvig*[35]. During this meeting the president of the Norwegian Students Society, John Friis, made a speech where he depicted the fight for Nordic identity as a resistance against Germanism[36]. The young Norwegian student Henrik Ibsen also thanked Denmark for its courage and determination in the defence of the Scandinavian frontier, insisting on the moral debt which Norway and Sweden owed to their neighbour[37]. Many poems, songs and speeches between 1851 and 1866 expressed the general feeling that Scandinavian identity was the fruit of a resistance against the powerful, greedy and authoritarian German genius. In spite of their previous relationship, Scandinavism and Germanism were destined to be estranged to each other[38]. The progressive politicization of Scandinavism reached a climax in the beginning of the 1860s. Indeed, at this point, a new war between Denmark and the German States (Prussia, Austria and others) seemed unavoidable because of the dynastic issues surrounding the death of the last Oldenburg, Fredrik VII[39]. The electric atmosphere of a pre-war situation was clearly reflected in the students' meeting of 1862. The Norwegian professor and poet Johan Sebastian Welhaven (1807-1873) reasserted that Schleswig was a Danish land, and that all Scandinavians had this holy cause in their blood; he thus called for support to be given to Denmark in the name of the Nordic genius[40]. For Friis, the Schleswig question was not only a Danish issue; it was a Scandinavian problem[41].

However, the most outstanding and most applauded speech was the lengthy one religiously orated by a Norwegian pastor. It sounded like a martial plea encouraging his fellows to face a common and inescapable ordeal; the time of truth was about to come for the Scandinavian peoples. This passionate declaration is a beautiful summary of the hopes and the fears of the Scandinavist partisans in the 19th century. It shows most clearly how the issue of the Danish frontier eventually became the most important issue for 19th century Scandinavism:

> North has three branches, but He is one by genius and heart, because those who dream together are one, in reality [...] We want to be together, we do not want to be separated because this will be our death [...] We have to go together to the battle [...] to each take our way would be a lie and a treason [...] But our dream has its frontier on the Eider River, where we still can find today the ancient runes of this dream [...] The Nordic dream was blended with other dreams, those of foreign enemies, for the sole reason that the frontier was not firmly maintained, and when this is not the case, the force of truth is lost [...] The Scandinavist idea is the Nordic unity to the Eider River, but not a thumb further. Thus, it

> is our duty to determine a firm and whole frontier, but not to manipulate it, amputate it or accept the intrusion of enemies [...] We will gather under the banners of the North with this inscription [...] North's frontier to the Eider, free and independent! Holstein out![42]

Plainly, pastor Birkedal ended his sermon with exactly the same exclamation as Orla Lehmann had done in 1842, when the Danish patriot had formulated the principles of the Eider river policy. Consequently, we can say that the Danish patriots managed to use Scandinavism as a tool legitimating their territorial vision of Denmark. The Eider became the natural frontier of Denmark and of Scandinavia, erected as a bastion of freedom against authoritarian German nationalism.

Scandinavists' collective strategies?

Beyond the multiple factors at stake in the duchies question, the problem can basically be understood through the fact that the Danish-German borderland experienced a change of legal legitimacy. The legitimate frontier could not be a feudal frontier, designed by dynastical rights any longer; it had to become a national-based frontier. This change of legitimacy was itself a consequence of a change in the legitimacy of law. Natural and historical rights progressively replaced the feudal legacy, and this could not happen without insurrections, often described or constructed as national resistances[43]. But if Scandinavist students and academics made theirs the necessity of resisting German claims in Schleswig, did this statement have any major consequences? In other words, was Nordic resistance anything other than a Romantic dream based upon an unrealistic political agenda, a precarious result of students' demonstrations without any effect on politics? At first sight, the answer is a negative one for Scandinavism, but this should not be an excuse to neglect the deep marks left by Scandinavian identity on many levels and in different historical periods, cultural as well as political. A common historical judgement often argues that there is the limited echo of Scandinavist ideas in the population, which would explain the inability to implement a collective and massive resistance against German claims. However, this argument is only partly convincing; after all, in the mid-19th century, politics was a sphere dominated by small elites from which most citizens were excluded. Besides, several examples attest the genuine aura around this movement.

After the death of the distrustful Swedish-Norwegian King Karl Johan in 1844, Scandinavist students could more easily show their allegiance to the Houses of the North, the Danish Oldenburgs and the Swedish-Norwegian Bernadottes, who usually honoured the Scandinavian youth with their paternalist goodwill, and often with their presence[44]. Scandinavist partisans were in touch with powerful milieus, and while they may have been a rather small group, they were active and influential politically, socially and culturally. The students were not only Romantic intellectuals or poets, as has been frequently stated; several of them achieved central political positions in the 1850s and 1860s. This was the case with Orla Lehmann in Denmark and also with the philologist, poet and

National Liberal politician Carl Ploug (1813-1894)[45], who actively participated in several Scandinavian meetings both as a politician, a review editor and a former student. In Norway, the eminent role played by the academic elite in state institutions and in politics was strengthened further by the absence of a nobility. Here, the Students Society, which was perhaps the most important literary and political forum in the country of this period, was almost unanimously Scandinavist in the 1850s and 1860s. Another example could be the mathematician and politician Ole Jacob Broch (1818-1889), who was a 'national strategist', as well as one of the Scandinavist Society's founders in 1864[46]. Finally, in Sweden, the most emblematic Scandinavists were undoubtedly the Kings Oscar I (1844-1859) and Charles XV (1859-1872).

This does not mean that a Nordic union would have represented a consensual identity-based solution for the Scandinavian political elite. Even when the Eider River was proclaimed as a Scandinavian cause, each land still held its own perception of Scandinavism, according to its own national agenda. Finally, the necessity of a union for resistance, when proclaimed, never led to the assumption that national states should be abandoned. Nevertheless, defending Scandinavia against serious external threats was the ultimate justification of several political projects and diplomatic discussions during the 1850s and 1860s throughout Europe[47]; but it is not the purpose to expose them all here. We shall just highlight this remarkable episode: in 1857, King Oscar I sent a secret message proposing an alliance with Denmark's Fredrik VII (1848-1863). Indeed, this proposal of alliance stipulated that the Swedish-Norwegian Union would send 16,000 men to the Eider for the defence of Denmark. The Swedish-Norwegian King had himself accepted the Eider policy on a political basis, but the offer was eventually rejected by the Danish King who wanted to include the defence of Holstein in this agreement[48]. In 1863, this unofficial promise of alliance was renewed by Oscar's heir Charles XV, but was finally broken by the Swedish and Norwegian governments when the Second Schleswig War broke out in 1864[49]. This diplomatic ambiguity may be one of the reasons why Scandinavian resistance appears ironically as a 'might-have-been' history.

Notes

1 J. de Coussange, *La Scandinavie: le nationalisme scandinave*, Paris 1914.

2 Ø. Sørensen, *Norsk idéhistorie: Kampen om Norges sjel 1770-1905* [Norwegian Intellectual History: The Struggle for Norway's Soul 1770-1905], Oslo 2001, p. 227.

3 A. Lassen (ed.), *Det norrøne og det nationale: studier i brugen af Islands gamle litteratur i nationale sammenhænge i Norge, Sverige, Island, Storbritannien, Tyskland og Danmark* [The Old Norse and the National: Studies into the Use of Iceland's old Literature within a National Context in Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Great Britain, Germany and Denmark], Reykjavik 2008, p. 9.

4 N.F.S. Grundtvig, *De l'Union culturelle du Nord*, Copenhagen 1839 (reprint 1962), p. 163.

5 *Ibid*., pp. 145-165.

6 J. Sanness, *Intelligens, Patrioter og Skandinaver: norske reaksjoner på skandinavismen før 1848* [Intelligence, Patriots and Scandinavians: Norwegian Reactions to Scandinavism prior to 1848], Oslo 1959, pp. 356-378.

7 The Eider River is located between Schleswig and Holstein.

8 *Nor* is a poetic denomination of Scandinavia.

9 The Codan Sea is a poetic denomination of the Baltic Sea, coming from Latin *Sinus Codanus*.

10 H. Ibsen, *Œuvres de Grimstad (1847-1850*), ed. and trans. P.G. La Chesnais, Paris 1914, pp. 95-96.

11 The Poetic Edda and the Prose Edda are the two most important sources for Old Norse mythology. The Poetic Edda was a set of anonymous poems, gathered in the 13th century, while the Prose Edda was compiled by the Icelandic poet Snorri Sturluson (1178-1241) around the same period.

12 R. Slotkin, *Regeneration through violence: the mythology of the American frontier 1600-1860*, Middletown CT 1973, p. 3.

13 J. Singer, *Boundaries of the soul: the practice of Jung's psychology*, New York 1994, pp. 105-108.

14 Slotkin, *Regeneration* cit., p. 8.

15 *Ibid*.

16 A fictional figure from the 17th century, Mother Svea became a Swedish national emblem in the 19th century. She was often represented as a shieldmaiden (walkyrie) with two lions.

17 Singer, *Boundaries* cit., p. 133.

18 C.G. Jung, *Man and his symbols*, London 1964, p. 161.

19 Singer, *Boundaries* cit., p. 382.

20 Scandinavia "from the Eider River to the North Cape" was indeed a leitmotiv in Scandinavist speeches and toasts among academics. See, for example, *Studenttåg till Christiania från Upsala* [The Students' March from Christiania to Upsala], Uppsala 1854, p. 34.

21 T. Jorgenson, *Norway's relation to Scandinavian unionism 1815-1871*, Northfield 1935, p. 68.

22 Schleswig had been a part of Denmark as early as 811, and became a duchy in 1115, in spite of a continuous German immigration. The duchy was attributed to the German Count of Holstein in 1386 (although it remained a Danish fief), until the Danish King Christian I (1448-1481) became himself Count of Holstein in 1460. Holstein became a duchy in 1474. See www.snl.no/.nbl_biografi/Christian_1/utdypning. These duchies were wealthier and very populated, compared to the rest of the Jutland peninsula. The Duchy of Schleswig (or Southern Jutland, according to the Danish nationalist terminology) had a very important German-speaking population, especially in the South, but was still a Danish fief, whereas Holstein-Lauenburg was a German-speaking domain, as well as a member of the Holy Roman German Empire and its succesor, the German Confederation. Moreover, German was not only the language of the powerful

knighthood of Schleswig-Holstein, but it was also the language of many officials in the Court of Copenhagen, and was broadly used by the intellectual elite. See R. Hemstad, *Historie og nasjonal identitet: kampen om fortiden i det danske-tyske grenseland 1815-1840* [History and National Identity: The Struggle for the Past in the Danish-German Border Region 1815-1840], Oslo 1996, p. 84.

[23] *Ibid*., p. 32. In Holstein, the University of Kiel was the intellectual centre of German awakening in the duchies.

[24] *Ibid*., p. 109.

[25] L.K. Daa, *Danmark: russisk eller skandinavisk* [Denmark: Russian or Scandinavian], Christiania 1849, p. 11.

[26] O. Lehmann, *Det Danske i Slesvig. Tale paa Trykkefrihedsselskabets Generalforsamling den 4de November 1836* [The Danish in Schleswig. Speech at the General Assembly of the Association of Freedom of the Printing Press on 4 November 1836], in C. Ploug (ed.), *Orla Lehmanns efterladte skrifter* [Orla Lehmann's consigned writings], vol. 3, Copenhagen 1873, pp. 68-86.

[27] O. Lehmann, *Danmark til Ejderen! Tale ved Festen 28de Mai 1842* [Denmark up to the Eider River! Speech at the Festival 28 May 1842], in C. Ploug (ed.), *Orla Lehmanns efterladte skrifter*, vol. 4, Copenhagen 1874, pp. 265-267.

[28] *Ibid*., p. 266.

[29] J. Clausen, *Skandinavismen: historisk fremstillet* [Scandinavism: A Historical Survey], Copenhagen 1900, pp. 157-158.

[30] Among other legal arguments, Danish conservatives pointed to the Abdication Act (1773) of Duke Paul of Holstein-Gottorp (the son of Tsarina Catherine II of Russia), which clearly affirmed that the Holstein-Gottorp Dukes and their heirs would give up all their dynastical rights in Holstein to the advantage of the Danish King and his successors. Cf. J. Höpfner, *L'insurrection dans les duchés de Slesvig et Holstein et les procédés de la Prusse à l'égard du Danemark*, Copenhagen 1848, p. 22.

[31] According to Lehmann, the Eider River was recognized as the Northern frontier of the Carolingian Empire by Charlemagne (742-814). Lehmann, *Det Danske i Slesvig* cit., p. 72.

[32] Hemstad, *Historie og nasjonal identitet* cit., pp. 131-133.

[33] This military frontier had actually been insignificant since the Middle Ages, but it was used again during the First Schleswig War, and strengthened in the 1860s. During the 19th century, *Danevirke* became the title of several Danish journals. "That is why we understand Denmark as the whole territory between the Øresund and the Eider River, and we are ready to defend our old *Danevirke* both against the traitorous Northalbingian screams and all German bird catchers' desire for maritime expansion." Lehmann, *Danmark til Ejderen!* cit., p. 267. The archaic term "Northalbingian" refers to Holstein, which is located on the northern bank of the Elbe River (the Latin name of this river is *Albis*). The "treatorous Northalbingian screams" is a metaphor denouncing the claims of German nationalists and regionalists in Holstein.

[34] J. de Coussange, *Le Slesvig: la résistance à la germanisation*, in Id., *La Scandinavie* cit., pp. 96-160.

[35] *Studentertog til Christiania 1851 fra Lund og Kjöbenhavn: beretning fra et Udvalg af deeltagerne* [The Students' March to Christiania 1851 from Lund and Copenhagen: Report by a Selection of the Participants], Copenhagen 1853, p. 1.

[36] *Ibid*., p. 34.

[37] *Ibid*., pp. 41-42.

[38] *Studenttåg till Christiania från Upsala 1852* [The Students' March to Christiania from Upsala 1852], Uppsala 1854, pp. 103-104.

[39] With the death of Fredrik VII (1863), the Danish Monarchy faced a dynastical problem, because the Crown was to be passed to the female lineage, but the existence of the Salic law in Holstein could

provoke its separation from Denmark. Besides, shortly after the death of the Danish King, a new constitution was adopted by the Danish Parliament under the influence of the Danish nationalists: the November Constitution created a common Parliament for Denmark and Schleswig, but not for Holstein. This was a first step towards the separation of the duchies: this violation of the London Protocol could allow a Prussian-Austrian intervention in 1864.

[40] *Studentmötet i Lund och Köpenhamn 1862* [Students' Meeting in Lund and Copenhagen 1862], Uppsala 1863, pp. 125-126.

[41] *Ibid*., p. 167.

[42] *Ibid*., pp. 183-187.

[43] In the opening chapter of this volume, M. Krocová and M. Řezník underline a boundary theory suggesting that frontiers constitute a lasting legacy: the longer they function, the harder it is to alter them. Frontiers conflicts can therefore be interpreted as conflicts between different historical legitimacies.

[44] For instance, in 1856, 600 Scandinavist participants were warmly welcomed by the inhabitants of Stockholm. They presented their tribute to Oscar I (1844-1859), to the highest state officials and to the city authorities. *Det skandinaviska Student-tåget 1856* [The Scandinavian Students' March of 1856], Stockholm 1856, p. 25.

[45] Carl Ploug's poems anthology, *Samlede Digter* [Collected Poems] of 1862 is called the 'Bible of Scandinavism', at http://www.snl.no/Carl_Ploug.

[46] In Sweden and Denmark, similar associations were founded in the aftermath of the Danish walloping: in Sweden, the Nordic National Association in 1864; in Denmark the Nordic Society in 1866. Cf. T.I. Hansen, *Et skandinavisk nasjonsbyggingsprosjekt. Skandinavisk Selskab (1864-1871)* [A Scandinavian Project of Nation-Building: The Scandinavian Society 1864-1871], Oslo 2008, p. 41.

[47] After the Crimean War (1853-1856), the French and the British cabinets began to consider Scandinavism as a serious geopolitical solution for preventing Russian expansion, Cf. Clausen, *Skandinavismen* cit., p. 125.

[48] Å. Holmberg, *Skandinavismen i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt (1843-1863)* [Scandinavism in Sweden in the Middle of the 19th Century, 1843-1863], Gothenburg 1946, p. 295.

[49] Instead of 20,000 Swedish and Norwegian soldiers, Denmark just got help from around 500 Scandinavist volunteers, without any official support from Sweden or Norway, cf. Clausen, *Skandinavismen* cit., p. 192.